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ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AND THE JEWISH STATE.

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DURING the years of political change following the death of Alexander the Great a threefold development characterized the inner life of the Jews—that of “wisdom” literature, of legalism, and of the ritual and priesthood. In all of these particulars Jewish history is unique, but perhaps in none more unique than in the collection of proverbs and practical advice to be found in such writings as our canonical Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes, and such other writings as the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon. Like the other two tendencies, this is rooted in the history of the Hebrew race, for wise sayings of very ancient origin are clearly embraced in its early literature. But during the post-exilic period, and especially after the Greek influence began to be felt, it found its most remarkable expression and became a literary form. To speak of it in detail is impossible, but one cannot overlook its knowledge of the world and its cynicism, as well as its most usual characteristics, sobriety and moral earnestness.¹

But good advice is seldom more than a luxury, and the history of the Jews was to center about the struggles between the two other tendencies which began during these years to show themselves so clearly. Indeed, the two hundred and fifty or three hundred years preceding the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus may be said to be filled with little else than the gradual and unobserved triumph of legalism in the persons of the pharisees over ritualism, whether in the persons of the Sadducees or of the nation as a whole.

¹ In general see Introductions, especially Driver's, and more particularly CHEYNE, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, chaps. 4, 5; KENT, *The Wise Men of Israel*; and Renan, Graetz, and Schürer by index.

At the outset the two forces were in harmony. The Jewish state was a theocracy, the high priest at its head being held responsible for the tribute until Onias II., either from his pro-Syrian leanings or from sheer incapacity, neglected to send the required twenty talents to Ptolemy Energetes of Egypt. Such an act was close to rebellion and nearly led to the destruction of Judea. As it was, it resulted in the sale of the taxes to one Joseph, an adventurer of extraordinary boldness and ability, who became a sort of satrap in Judea and for twenty-two years held this position, mingling severity with liberality² so successfully that during the entire period the Jews were not only at peace with their neighbors, but reasonably prosperous in their internal affairs.³ The ultimate results, however, of this new departure in the administration of the state were not all so happy. Not only did it lead to civil strife, but the control of the taxes tended to make wealth concentrate in the hands of Joseph and his sons, and in those of the various agents they employed. There was thus formed a wealthy, official class whose sympathies were increasingly with the Hellenistic culture discovered during their intercourse with the Egyptian court.⁴ Jewish society thus began more rapidly to feel those influences of Hellenism that were soon to play so tragical a rôle in its life — influences that were strengthened by the unofficial relations existing between Palestine and the Jewish communities already flourishing in Alexandria and other Egyptian cities.

Such a responsible position as this of Joseph in itself implies a loss of prestige on the part of the high priest, but does not seem to involve any attempt at his humiliation, nor at the destruction of Judaism.

Even when, after his victory at Raphia (B. C. 217) over Antiochus III., Ptolemy IV. (Philopator) entered into the temple at Jerusalem, he offered sacrifices, and his worst offense seems to have been that he forced his way into the holy of holies.⁵

² *Ant.*, xii, 4:3.

³ *Ibid.*, xii, 4.

⁴ GRAETZ, *History of the Jews*, Vol. I, pp. 440 f.

⁵ So much at least seems historical, though the details of 3 *Macc.* 1:9; 2:24, are certainly legendary.

Yet, when at the battle of Banias (198 B. C.) Palestine fell wholly into the hands of Antiochus III., a brighter day seemed about to dawn. The Jews were not unkindly treated by their new ruler, who recognized their value as colonists and settled thousands of them in the various new cities which he founded. They were granted the right to live in accordance with their own laws, were relieved from a considerable portion of their taxes, while those of their number who were in slavery were allowed to return. This friendly legislation went so far as to make it a crime to carry into Jerusalem such meats as the Jews were forbidden to eat, while Seleucus IV. is said⁶ to have borne all the costs of the sacrifices.⁷

The failure of the attempt of Seleucus IV., through Heliodorus, to get possession of the temple treasures must have still further strengthened the position of the high priest.⁸ But this development was suddenly threatened, not alone by unaccustomed oppression on the part of Syria, but by the mistaken policy of the high priests themselves.

Under the Syrian suzerainty devotion to Hellenism became identified with loyalty. For there had grown up in Jerusalem a strong pro-Syrian party which sought political safety in complete dependence upon Syria. Its numbers were probably never large, but it embraced most of the prominent citizens of Jerusalem, and its position was strengthened by the fact that the high priest was now the king's appointee.⁹ This political sympathy was accompanied by a predilection for Greek culture and by a willingness to abandon Judaism as a cult. It might have been expected that these latter particulars the high priest would have strongly opposed, and it is true that under the administration of Onias III. an effort was made to stem the latitudinarian movement, but with unfortunate results. The lines of cleavage along religious and

⁶ 2 *Macc.* 3 : 3.

⁷ *Ant.*, xii, 3 : 3.

⁸ It is hardly possible that the astonishing legend of 2 *Macc.*, chap. 3, should not contain this much of historical worth. It is not impossible that the event lies behind the reference to Polybius quoted by JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xii, 3 : 3. EWALD, *History of Israel*, Vol. V, pp. 268-74, gives a good sketch of the high-priesthood.

⁹ *Ant.*, xii, 5 : 1.

political lines were so close together as not only to make the Syrian elements Hellenistic, but to make their opponents apparently loyal to Egypt. So bitter was the opposition to Onias on the part of the Syrian party—notably on that of one Simon the Benjamite—that Onias was forced to leave Jerusalem and for some time live as a sort of exile-ambassador at Antioch. His absence aided the Hellenistic Syrian party, for not only was his brother Jason (or Jesus), who acted as his representative, a strong friend of Hellenism, but the irrepressible son of Joseph, Hyrcanus, whom Onias had befriended, complicated the situation by continuing to collect taxes for Egypt throughout the region on the east of Jordan commanded by his great castle.¹⁰

It was while affairs were in this condition that Antiochus Epiphanes succeeded his brother Seleucus IV. Instantly the Hellenistic party grew stronger. Hyrcanus succeeded by large promises in getting Onias III. removed, and himself appointed as high priest.¹¹ Antiochus Epiphanes, who had already determined upon the policy of religious conformity, willingly gave his consent. Jason was established as high priest. Then followed the extraordinary spectacle of a Jewish city undertaking to install a heathen civilization, of priests abandoning their sacrifices, of Jewish youths exercising under Greek hats, and of a high priest sending three hundred drachmas of silver to Tyre for a sacrifice to Hercules.¹² Jason suffered the fate he had brought upon Onias, for after three years a certain Menelaus, the brother of Simon the Benjamite,¹³ offered Antiochus a larger bribe than had he, and was made high priest. Under his influence

¹⁰ *Ant.*, xii, 4 : 11. The remains of this castle are still to be seen at 'Arak el-Emîr.

¹¹ Among other things, Jason agreed to set up a gymnasium and to permit the Jews to share in the games at Antioch.

¹² The money was, who ever, in deference to the desire of the messengers, used for building triremes. In this entire account we are following 2 Maccabees. Josephus has a somewhat different account, and has confused Onias III. with Menelaus (*Ant.*, xii, 5 : 1). Especially has he inextricably confused the various priests by the name of Onias. (Thus *cf. Ant.*, xii, 5 : 1, with xii, 4 : 10.) Yet 2 Maccabees is not altogether accurate, for it apparently antedates the embassy sent by Judas to Rome (1 *Macc.* 8 : 17) and includes to it John the father of Eupolemus rather than Eupolemus himself (2 *Macc.* 4 : 11).

¹³ 2 *Macc.* 4 : 23. JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xii, 5 : 1, says he was the brother of Jason himself.

the process of Hellenizing went on rapidly. Surgical operations removed traces of circumcision, and when Antiochus visited Jerusalem in 172 B. C. he was welcomed, in Greek fashion, by a torch-light procession, and in every way was made to feel that his policy would prove successful, and that it was only a matter of time before the Jews, like others of his dependent peoples, would have become fused in a Hellenistic civilization.

This tendency to reverse the course of religious development was not merely an evidence of the rise of a political party and of personal ambition on the part of the high priests and the Gerousia. It resulted also from the general Hellenistic movement which since the days of Alexander had begun to be felt throughout Palestine. It was a period of political and ethnic recombinations. Not alone into Alexandria and Asia Minor, but also into Galilee and the country east of Jordan, did both Greek and Jewish colonists press. Great centers of Greek trade grew up alongside of the smaller towns of the Jews. Even before the time of Alexander, Gaza had commercial relations with Greece, and Dora was probably subject to Athens.¹⁴ Ptolemy Philadelphus had favored Greek colonization in Judea, and, as if to offset this tendency, there had already begun the emigration that was to carry the Jews into all quarters of the known world. In Alexandria, thanks to the efforts of Alexander himself, as well as to natural immigration, the Jews numbered hundreds of thousands. Fortunately, the influences they there felt were not those of the Hellenism that so often ruined the eastern peoples, but rather those which sprang from the schools. By the end of the second century we find at least one Jewish philosopher, Aristobulus,¹⁵ and several poets,¹⁶ and at least a few years later Jews held high political and military office under Egyptian rulers. But they chiefly shared in the Græco-Egyptian intellectual life, and already then had begun that synthesis which was later to give the world the Kabbala and Philo. The Hebrew scriptures were already translated into Greek, and

¹⁴ See also 2 *Macc.* 6 : 8, where Greek cities are spoken of as within Judea.

¹⁵ 2 *Macc.* 1 : 10.

¹⁶ EWALD, Vol. V, p. 260.

religious writings begin to appear in the same language. And thus, by their own kin in Egypt as well as by the heathen who ruled and surrounded them, the Jews of Palestine were being brought under the influence of an orientalized Greek civilization that rarely, if ever, failed to effect a change for the worse.

With Greek influences thus ubiquitous and persistent, it is not strange that men like Menelaus should have been eager to lead Judea out from its isolation into the circle of a more brilliant civilization. They may not have desired utterly to abandon Jehovah, but they very clearly were bound to abandon the exclusiveness of the Jewish cult in search for a denationalized religion.¹⁷ Such a tendency might very easily have become an outright conversion to heathenism, but this, with necessary exceptions, a just allowance for the sympathies of Josephus and the two books of Maccabees will hardly permit us to discover. It was religious indifferentism, coupled with the enthusiasm of an abortive renaissance, but it was not idolatry.

The prostitution of the priesthood seems to have been endured within Jerusalem itself, whose inhabitants had been specially honored by Antiochus III., and where the Syrian garrison made resistance futile; but when the report of the doings of Menelaus reached the outlying country, there was a general rising in the interest of decency and religion. The Gerousia itself sent messengers to Antiochus to prefer charges against the high priest. But all was in vain. Menelaus bribed the king, stole and sold some of the sacred vessels of the temple, and the wretched accusers paid the penalty of their temerity with their lives,¹⁸ as did also the aged Onias III., whom even the sanctuary of Apollo at Daphne did not protect.

But opposition to Hellenistic religion and culture had been developing notwithstanding these successes of the high priest. Along with the drift of the priesthood toward Hellenism there ran a counter-current of legalistic orthodoxy—the third great characteristic of the period. The members of the reactionary party were mostly scribes and their disciples, who, so far

¹⁷ 1 *Macc.* 1 : 11, 12.

¹⁸ 2 *Macc.* 4 : 39–50.

from desiring any share in Greek civilization, opposed it fanatically. Historically this party represented Jewish spirit quite as truly as the priesthood. From the days of Ezra, the genius of the nation had been growing scholastic. The study of the Thorah, though by no means reaching its later preëminence, was growing more intense and widespread. To men filled with the spirit of Moses and the prophets, the friends of heathen civilization, priests though they might be, were "transgressors" and "lawless." Even articles made of glass, according to Jose ben Jochanan, were defiling, since they were made from Gentile soil.¹⁹ The true Jew was told, "Let thy house be a place of assembly for the wise; powder thyself with the dust of their feet," and every sabbath, and indeed on other days, the law was expounded in the synagogue by the professional teachers.

Under such inspiration the scribes and their followers slowly grew into a party—that of the Chasidim, or "Pious." Scattered abroad over the little state, dwellers in small towns rather than in the capital,²⁰ these earnest men and women studied and cherished the Thorah. Important, as they were later to prove, both as a party and as the progenitors of parties, their lack of organization, as well as their dispersion and poverty, weakened their influence in the state, and, like all incipient popular reforms, conflict and persecution were needed to bring the movement to self-consciousness.

Thus in Judea an irrepressible conflict was developing between Hellenism and Judaism that was destined to destroy the Hellenizing influence of the aristocracy, give the nation a new dynasty and monarchy, reinstate an intense and uncompromising Judaism, and identify scribism with patriotism.

The dominance of the Hellenizing party in church and state brought neither peace nor prosperity. Not only were the morals of the people degenerating, but the taxes levied by Syria were crushing. Before the conquests of the Asmoneans the Jews

¹⁹ DERENBOURG, *Histoire, etc.*, p. 75. The saying is also attributed to Simon ben Shetach.

²⁰ This conjecture is rendered highly probable by 2 *Macc.* 4:39, 40, as well as by the circumstances of the Maccabean revolt.

were essentially an agricultural people,²¹ and, before the rise of the family of Joseph, with few, if any, rich men. In the absence of commerce, any considerable middle class could hardly have existed, and the nation as a whole seems to have been composed of *fellaheen* and aristocrats—priestly or professional. The two classes had different origins, different ambitions, and very possibly different languages.²² The supremacy of the Hellenistic elements of the aristocracy was, however, calculated to deepen the misery of the masses, since what little fellow-feeling may have resulted from devotion to the law was of necessity lost.

Upon such a people the irresponsible rule of the Syrians sat heavily. As wealth was almost exclusively in lands and cattle, taxes were comparatively easy to collect, and of necessity fell with crushing weight upon the unfortunate *fellaheen*. What these taxes were can be seen from the various privileges granted or promised by Demetrius and other kings.²³ They included a tax on the salt mined at the Dead Sea, a sum supposed to be equivalent to one-third the grain harvested and one-half the fruit, in addition to poll taxes and crown taxes, or sums equivalent to the value of crowns²⁴ presented to the monarchs, as well as the temple tax of 10,000 drachmæ. In addition Syrian officers had the right to seize cattle and stores for military purposes, as well as to enforce the *corvée*. When one recalls that all this was in addition to the tithes and gifts required of the people in support of their religion, it is not hard to realize the burden of the people as a whole. Under Antiochus IV. fiscal oppression was increasing, since his extravagance, as well as the heavy demands of Rome, kept Syria always in need of new levies. These were collected with a severity certainly not less than that shown

²¹ See the description of Jewish life in the first century of the present era, JOSEPHUS, *Cont. Apion.*, I : 12.

²² CONDER, *Judas Maccabæus*, 21 f. It is not impossible that heathen practices even persisted among the people. For their dishonesty cf. *Ecclus.* 20 : 24.

²³ Thus Antiochus III., *Ant.*, xii, 3 : 3 ; Demetrius I., 1 *Macc.* 10 : 29-45. Most of these taxes were retained by the Romans. See GOLDSCHMID, "Impôts et droits de douane en Judée sous les Romains," *Revue des études juives*, XXXIV, 192.

²⁴ See 1 *Macc.* 13 : 36, 37 ; 2 *Macc.* 14 : 4 ; and KAUTZSCH, *in loco*.

previously by Joseph and later by Cassius, when persons, and even cities, who could not meet the demands made upon them were sold into slavery.²⁵

Doubtless in part because of this wretched condition of their affairs, due to an irresponsible king and an unsympathetic local government, there arose not only a disaffection on the part of many Jews with the Syrians, but a suspicion of the Jews on the part of the king which was not long in finding expression.

In about 172 B. C. Antiochus became involved in a dispute with Egypt over the possession of Palestine, and war immediately broke out between the two nations, he himself acting on the offensive,²⁶ and in all conducting one campaign each year between 171 and 168. In the second of these four campaigns he was able to conquer practically the whole of Egypt outside of Alexandria,²⁷ when he suddenly started north, possibly because of the interference of Rome. As he came into Palestine, he learned that Jason, whom he had deposed, had shut up Menelaus in the citadel and, although driven from the city, was at the head of a revolt. This news, coupled with his natural suspicion of the Egyptian leanings of the Judaistic party,²⁸ caused him to march upon Jerusalem.²⁹ He sacked the city, massacred or enslaved large numbers of its inhabitants, and, although he made no attack upon Judaism, he entered, with Menelaus as his guide, into the sanctuary, where he is said to have found a statue of Moses riding on an ass.³⁰ He robbed the temple of its treasure, and carried off to

²⁵ *Ant.*, xii, 4 : 4 ; xiv, 11 : 2.

²⁶ The origin of the dispute with Egypt over Palestine is as follows : Antiochus III., the Great, had given his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, promising as her dowry Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. Since the Jews congratulated Ptolemy V. at the birth of his son (*Ant.*, xii, 4 : 7), it would appear as if at that time Judea was in the possession of Egypt. But under Seleucus IV. Palestine was again subject to Syria, and in 181 Ptolemy died while attempting to regain it. On the death of Cleopatra the guardians of her son demanded the territory in accordance with the promise of Antiochus III. This was refused, and war ensued.

²⁷ 1 *Macc.* 1 : 18, 19 ; *Ant.*, xii, 5 : 2.

²⁸ For the attitude of the Egyptian kings to the Jews see MAHAFFY, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 340-42.

²⁹ 2 *Macc.* 2 : 1-11.

³⁰ 2 *Macc.* 5 : 15.

Antioch the golden altar, the candlestick, the table of shew-bread, the cups and sacred vessels, and even scaled off the gilt with which parts of the temple was overlaid.³¹ Then he left the city in the control of Menelaus, who was supported by Syrian officials and troops.

With the spirit of loyal worshipers the Chasidim accepted the high priest and waited in patience for the word of Jehovah.

But not for long. These acts of Antiochus Epiphanes were but the beginning of a desperate attempt to extirpate the anti-Hellenistic party. Such an attempt was, in a measure, due to the peculiarities of the king himself. Brave, generous,³² and to a considerable degree possessed of cultivated tastes, he was at the same time eccentric, passionate, and possessed of immeasurable self-conceit. Added to these personal elements were the suspected sympathies of the Chasidim with Egypt.³³ But doubtless with even greater truth it may be ascribed to an unbalanced determination to consolidate and prolong the Syrian state by the establishment of a common civilization. All should be one people.³⁴

Had the already aggressive Hellenizing movement been allowed to run its course among the Jews, it is not impossible (though, on the whole, in the light of Jewish history, not probable, since such heathen tendencies would most likely have produced a revival of prophetism) that Judaism, like other ethnic faiths, would have succumbed. But here the king's own character made patience out of the question and precipitated a struggle that was not to cease until the weak city-state was

³¹ 1 *Macc.* 1 : 20-24. According to JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xii, 5 : 3, Antiochus at this time plundered Jerusalem, but did not carry off the sacred vessels until two years later. He has probably confused two accounts of the event. The conjecture of MAHAFFY, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 341, that this punishment was due to some act of disloyalty of the Jews during the Egyptian campaign of Antiochus, is not warranted by any known facts.

³² See, for instance, his weeping over the death of Onias III., 2 *Macc.* 4 : 37.

³³ POLYBIUS, xxvi, 10, gives an interesting account of his contradictory traits. He was fond of rude practical jokes, and of going about incognito in search of adventures. It was these traits that won him the title of Epimanes — "the mad."

³⁴ 1 *Macc.* 1 : 41.

unexpectedly able to break free from a suddenly decadent empire, and the despised anti-Hellenist party became supreme. This new policy was inaugurated by an attack upon Jerusalem, and again the occasion of the attack lay in the king's Egyptian wars. In 168 B. C. he had all but conquered Egypt, when the Roman legate, Popilius, following the anti-Syrian policy which Rome then favored, unexpectedly ordered him to return to Syria. Antiochus demanded time for consideration. The Roman drew a circle about the king with his staff and ordered him to "deliberate there." The king deliberated—and retreated!³⁵

But now more than ever did he see danger in having on his southern frontier an unassimilated nation like the Jews, among whom a strong anti-Syrian party might easily develop, if indeed it were not already in existence. He determined once and for all either to convert or exterminate such of their numbers whose devotion to Judaism argued disloyalty to Syria. Indeed, it is not impossible that he planned to exterminate the Jews of Jerusalem as a whole, and to replace them by heathen colonists.³⁶ With such purposes he got possession of Jerusalem by treachery, again sacked and burned it, plundered the temple, massacred many of the citizens, carried off ten thousand as slaves, threw down the walls, strengthened the acropolis until it was a citadel which completely commanded the temple and the city, and placed in it a strong Syrian garrison.³⁷

³⁵ POLYBIUS, 39 : 11 ; LIVY, 45 : 12.

³⁶ So SCHÜRER, Div. I, Vol. I, p. 206 *n*, on the basis of a comparison of 1 *Macc.* 1 : 38. STADE (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, p. 321) holds that the financial straits of Syria resulting from the Roman wars and the pressure brought to bear upon Antiochus by the Jewish Hellenist party were the two causes of the persecution. 1 *Macc.* 1 : 30–32 and 2 *Macc.* 5 : 24.

³⁷ The location of this citadel, which played so prominent a part in the history of the next generation, is one of the numerous puzzles of the topography of Jerusalem. SCHÜRER (Div. I, Vol. I, p. 207 *n*) thinks it "an incontestable result of modern investigation that it lay on the southern slope of the eastern hill," *i. e.*, on Ophel. The recent investigations as to the original rock formation seem rather to favor the site of the Palestine Exploration Fund map, that is, on the northern end of the western and higher hill, at about the spot now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where Dr. Schick has recently found evidence that the rock has been cut down (*Pal. Ex. Fund Quar.*, July, 1898). It is hardly possible to see either how a citadel on Ophel could have commanded the temple, or that there ever was a valley of any considerable size between it and the temple. Compare 1 *Macc.* 4 : 37, 60 ; 5 : 54 ; 6 : 62 ; 7 : 33, with 1 *Macc.* 1 : 33 ; 14 : 36 ; 4 : 2 ; 9 : 52 ; 10 : 32 ; 13 : 52 ; 14 : 7 ; 2 *Macc.* 51 : 31, 35.

Again this was but a beginning. For the first time in the history of the Græco-Roman world, there began a war of extermination of a religion. Its victims were those who clung to Judaism, and above all the Pious. The observance of all Jewish rites, especially the 'sabbath and circumcision, was punished by death. Jewish worship was abolished. Heathen altars were erected in all the cities of Judea. In the temple groves were planted,³⁸ and a small altar to Jupiter, the Abomination of Desolation, was erected upon the great altar of burnt-offering, upon which, in December 168 B. C., a sow was sacrificed.³⁹

Then began the brief period of Jewish martyrs. Royal officers went about the land to see that the commands of the king were obeyed. But while many deserted their faith, and the Samaritans obtained by petition the right to erect a temple to Zeus upon Mount Gerizim,⁴⁰ the Chasidim and their sympathizers preferred death to denial. Old men and youths were whipped with rods and torn to pieces, mothers were crucified with their infant boys they had circumcised strangled and hanging about their necks. To possess a copy of the law was to be punished by death. It would be hard to name a greater crisis in the history of the Jews or, indeed, of any people. To compare it with the fortunes of the Low Countries during the reign of Philip II. of Spain is to discredit neither brave little land.⁴¹ But the persecution only intensified the devotion of the Chasidim to their Thorah. They were ready to die rather than surrender such few copies as they might own. Indeed, as later in the case of the Christians under Decius, persecution itself helped them to draw more clearly the distinction between their sacred books and those that were not worthy of supreme sacrifice; and during these dark days we may place the first beginning of that choice between religious books which afterward was

³⁸ This is the most probable interpretation of 1 *Macc.* 4 : 38.

³⁹ On this meaning of *Dan.* 9 : 27 as *Baalshamem*, i. e., Zeus, see NESTLE, *Zeit. für alt. Wiss.*, 1884, p. 248. Josephus says (*Ant.*, xii, 5 : 4) that the Jews were forced to offer swine every day upon altars outside of Jerusalem.

⁴⁰ *Ant.*, xiv, 5 : 5.

⁴¹ Here belong the stories of 2 *Macc.* 6 : 18—7 : 42. The chief source is 1 *Macc.* 1 : 29—64.

to result in the fixing of the third group or stratum of writings in the Hebrew Bible⁴²—the “Sacred Writings.”

From the midst of this persecution, also, the hopes of the Pious leaped out in vision and prophecy. In the books of Daniel and Judith they pictured the deliverances wrought by Jehovah for those who kept his law in disobedience of some monstrous demand for universal idolatry, and traced the rise and fall of empires, till the kingdom of the saints should come.⁴³ Similar religious trust burst forth in lyric poetry,⁴⁴ in which the misery of the land is painted no more vividly than the faith that the true Israel is the flock of Jehovah's pasture. Even more in the Visions of Enoch (chaps. 83–90) does the heart of a pious Israel find expression. To their unknown author the Chasidim are lambs killed and mutilated by fierce birds, while the apostate Jews looked on unmoved. But he saw deliverance as well. The Lord of the sheep should seat himself upon a throne “in a pleasant land,” and cast the oppressors and the apostates into a fiery abyss, while the faithful martyrs should be brought to a new temple, and their eyes should be opened to see the good, and at last they should be like Messiah himself. For God would send his own Anointed to their aid, and he should found a new kingdom, not in heaven, but upon the earth.⁴⁵ Indeed, if it be true that certain psalms belong to this period,⁴⁶ these earnest souls from out of the depths of their sufferings foresaw

⁴² RYLE, *Canon of the Old Testament*, pp. 125 f.

⁴³ *Dan.* 7: 8, 20–25; 8: 9–12, 23–25; 9: 26. See KAUTZSCH, *History of the Literature of the Old Testament* (Eng. trans.), pp. 138–41; DRIVER, *Introduction to the Old Testament*; WILDEBOER, *Die Literatur des Alten Testaments*, pp. 435 f.; STREANE, *Age of the Maccabees*, App. C.; BEVAN, *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel*; FARRAR, *The Book of Daniel*; KENNEDY, *The Book of Daniel*. Literature is given in the article by E. L. CURTIS, in HASTINGS' *Dictionary of the Bible*. It is not impossible that our present book of Daniel contains material dating from an earlier period.

⁴⁴ As possibly *Pss.* 44, 74, 79, 115–18, 133, 149.

⁴⁵ SCHÜRER, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (3d ed.), Vol. III, p. 508.

⁴⁶ See KAUTZSCH, *History of Old Testament Literature* (Eng. trans.), p. 147; CHEYNE, *Origin and Religious Content of the Psalter*, Ap. I and Lects. 1–5. To this period Kautzsch, Reuss, Graetz, Bloch, and others assign Esther, but not on wholly satisfactory grounds. See DRIVER, WILDEBOER (*Canon*), and RYLE (*Canon*).

a Messianic time in which a revived and sanctified Israel would give the true religion to all the world.

Sustained by these bright visions—the seed of so much later Jewish hope—the Chasidim at first awaited Jehovah's time. They could die as martyrs, but they would not live as soldiers. But deliverance was to come by the sword, and events were to make this plain even to the Chasidim. For out of this persecution arose the Judea of Judas Maccabæus.



DANIEL